Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
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NODIS

NATO - HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 4351 ACTION SECSTATE DATED 11 JUN 75 QTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 4351

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PASS TO AMEMBASSIES BONN, LONDON AND PARIS FOR THE AMBASSADOR

SUGGEST DEPARTMENT ALSO PASS TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW, SECDEF AND US MISSION NATO

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE: PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVER CBM

1. SUMMARY US AND UK REPORTED TO ALLIED CAUCUS THAT SOVIETS HAD MADE NEW FORMAL OFFER OF 250 KMS, 30,000 TROOPS AND 18 DAYS IN PRIVATE CONTACTS IN WASHINGTON AND IN GENEVA. WE SAID THAT US FOUND SOVIET AREA CONCESSION SIGNIFICANT AND COULD ACCEPT THESE NEW FIGURES BUT THAT WE WERE SIMPLY CONVEYING FIGURES SECRET

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FOR ALLIED CONSIDERATION. UK AND ALL OTHERS FOUND FIGURES

POLITICALLY UNSTATISFACTORY AND OPPOSED ALLIED ACCEPTANCE. CHIEFS OF ALLIED DELS AGREED THAT ALLIES SHOULD NOT OPPOSE NEUTRAL TABLING OF PROPOSED COMPROMISE OF 300 KMS, 25,000 MEN, AND 21 DAQS, BUT SOVIETS ARE EXERTING HEAVY PRESSURE TO PREVENT THIS. END SUMMARY.

- 2. DURING SEPARATE ALLIED CAUCUS MEETINGS OF CHIEFS OF DELEGATIONS AND ALLIED CBM REPS ON JUNE 10, US AND UK REPS REPORTED THAT SOVIETS HAD MADE FORMAL APPROACH WITH NEW OFFER OF 250 KMS,30,000 TROOPS AND 18 DAYS. WE SAID THAT US IMPRESSION OF VIEWS OF ALLIES AT HIGH LEVEL HAD BEEN THAT AREA WAS MOST IMPROTANT CRITERION, AND THAT SIGNIFICANT SOVIET CONCESSION ON AREA SHOULD BE GIVEN DUE WEIGHT. WE SAID SOVIETS HAD BEEN INFORMED IN WASHINGTON THAT NEW OFFER WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US. BUT THAT WE WERE REALLY ONLY CONVEYING NEW FIGURES TO ALLIES FOR THEIR REACTIONS. IF THESE REACTIONS WERE NEGATIVE, WE SAID WE WOULD TELL THE SOVIETS THAT FIGURES DO NOT GO FAR ENOUGH TO GAIN ALLIED ACCEPTANCE. UK REPS SAID THEY HAD RECEIVED OFFER FROM SOVIET MINISTER KOVALEV IN GENEVA ON JUNE 9. AND HAD REPLIED THAT THEY DID NOT CONSIDER IT SUFFICIENT BASIS FOR CONFERENCE CONSENSUS.
- 3. ALL OTHER REPS IN ALLIED CAUCUS ECHOED VIEW OF UK. ON AREA SEVERAL REPS OBSERVED THAT FIGURE OF 300 KMS HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THEM BY THEIR MINISTERS AS A FINAL POSITION. IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT 300 KMS COULD BE JUSTIFIED IN PUBLIC PRESENTATION AS AN "OBJECTIVE" CRITERION, SINCE THIS DISTANCE DRAWN FROM FRONTIERS WOULD ENTIRELY COVER TERRITORY OF OTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS, AND SOVIETS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT "EQUAL" APPLICATION OF CBM MEASURE IN THEIR TERRITORY. FINALLY, CAUCUS REPS NOTED THAT 300 KMS FIGURE HAD BEEN TABLED BY THE NEUTRAL COORDINATOR OF CBM SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUNE 6, AND THAT NEITHER EASTERN NOR WESTERN REPS HAD REJECTED IT. MOST REPS SPOKE ON PERSONAL BASIS, BUT FRG REP MADE POINTS ON BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM BONN ON
- 4. ON THRESHOLD, EFFECT OF US STATEMENT WAS TO LOOSEN UP UEVERAL ALLIES, WHO HAD BEEN INSISTING UPON THRESHOLD SECRET

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BELOW 20,000. HOWEVER, CONSENSUS OF CAUCUS WAS THAT FIGURE AS HIGH AS 30,000 WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FROM POLITICAL STANDPOINT, NOT ONLY BECAUSE SOVIETS HAD BEEN TOLD THEY WOULD NEED TO MOVE FROM VIENNA FIGURES ON BOTH AREA AND THRESHOLD, BUT ALSO BECAUSE THRESHOLD AT THIS LEVEL WOULD EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDE MOST CSCE STATES FROM PARTICIPATION IN OBLIGATORY EXCHANGES OF NOTIFICATION.

- 5. FRENCH REP SAID NEW US POSITION COMPLICATED SITUTATION IN WHICH EARLY AGREEMENT HAD APPEARED POSSIBLE ON NEUTRAL FIGURES OF 300 KMS, 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS. FRANCE WOULD PROBABLY NOT OBJECT TO END OF STAGE II ON GROUNDS OF CBM PARAMETERS ALONE, BUT HENREGRETTED ON BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS THAT US HAD INDICATED ACCEPTANCE OF NEW SOVIET FIGURES. FRG AND ITALY MADE SIMILAR POINTS.
- 6. ALLIES AGREED THAT IT SHOULD QUICKLY BE MADE
 CLEAR THAT SOVIET OFFER, WHILE ACCEPTABLE TO US, WAS
 NOT ACCEPTABLE TO OTHERS. TO THIS END, CHIEFS OF
 DELS CONCURRED THAT NEUTRALS SHOULD BE TOLD THAT ALLIES DO NOT
 OPPOSE FORMALLY INTRODUCING THEIR COMPROMISE FORMULA
 IN JUNE 11 MEETING OF MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE.
- 7. SOVIETS ARE EXERTING HEAVY PRESSURE ON NEUTRALS TO PREVENT THIS, AND WE WILL REPORT OUTCOME IN SUBSEQUENT IMMEDIATE CALBE.
- 8. SUGGEST THIS SUBJECT NOW BE HANDLED AS EXDIS. DALE UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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